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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,041 June 8, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express) Edition: 10 cts.

EILEEN FLETCHER REPLIES TO CRITICS

"A traitor to truth" if she had kept silent



"Suffer the little children . . ."

EILEEN FLETCHER, whose Peace News articles have brought nation-wide demands for an investigation into miscarriages of justice and maladministration in Kenya's prisons and detention camps, has answered charges made in Nairobi last week that she had given a "totally unfair picture."

The charges were made by Mr. S. A. Morrison, Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, and Mr. John Starke, who represents the Friends Service Council in Kenya.

They made public a letter to the Friends Service Council in London (which had not been received on Tuesday of this week) in which they said that the articles contain "striking inconsistencies."

IN NAIROBI

A Reuter message quotes them as saying: "It would appear that Eileen Fletcher has picked up odd scraps of gossip and remarks thrown out by European officials in moments of exasperation and has quoted them as if they were typical of the general attitude."

The letter states that the experiences of the emergency in Kenya have challenged normal

KENYA DEBATE

THIS issue of Peace News went to press before the debate on Kenya in the House of Commons on Wednesday.

This will be reported in Peace News next week. That issue, will, we hope, carry Eileen Fletcher's comments on a document distributed by the Colonial Office entitled "Memorandum on Miss Eileen Fletcher's article 'Kenya Concentration Camps,' in Peace News of the 4th May, 1956."

procedures of administration and of justice. The building of security villages had to be achieved quickly by people with little experience of such work.

"The result was often muddle and mistakes, but in every case we believe that the administration has tried to put things right. . . . The picture given by Eileen Fletcher is totally unfair and ignores the excellent work done by so many."

This week The Friend, the Quaker journal, carries an interview with Eileen Fletcher in which she makes the following answer to her critics in Nairobi:

"They make hardly a reference to the most important part of my case, which aims to draw attention to miscarriages of justice and maladministration in prisons and detention camps, and seeks by this means to set a great wrong right."

NOT GOSSIP

"What they say about a 'totally unfair picture' and a case based on 'odd scraps of gossip' refers to what I have alleged as to the administration of the emergency generally, and does not affect the documented evidence I have compiled as to specific instances of injustice and bad prison administration."

"I take grave exception, as a trained social worker with many years of experience behind me of Government service and social investigation, to the charge that I had based any part of my carefully prepared case on idle gossip."

"On the contrary—my judgments as to the general administration of the situation were based, not on a few isolated instances but on my experience in working alongside European officers, and forming a considered opinion as to their attitude."

"There were, of course, exceptions to this attitude, and I have been careful to mention some of them."

ON BACK PAGE

TRUTH ABOUT KENYA

This drawing by Vicky appears on the cover of TRUTH ABOUT KENYA, the pamphlet edition of Eileen Fletcher's Peace News articles, now available for 1s. each, 10s. 6d., dozen. The pamphlet, issued jointly by Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4 and the Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1, contains a foreword by Leslie Hale, MP.

LONDON RALLY TONIGHT

A public meeting on Human Rights in the Colonies will be held tonight (June 8) at 7.30 in London. For details see "Meetings," page 7.

WE ARE 20 YEARS OLD

THIS issue marks the twentieth anniversary of the first appearance of Peace News in June, 1936.

During the last ten years more than £20,000 has been raised by readers to ensure publication during a period of rising production costs.

Help to double our circulation before we are 21! Introduce Peace News to a friend today.

An important document which should be studied by all groups and individuals concerned with colonial freedom and the removal of the causes of war.

MICHAEL SCOTT'S POLICY FOR AFRICA

"WE have the task of giving form and character to a new period in the world's history," says Lewis Mumford. This is true of Africa."

THESE are the words with which the Rev. Michael Scott, world-famous champion of the rights of "all the landless and dispossessed peoples of the world" sums up his "Policy for Africa," a document, 13 pages in length, issued last month on behalf of the Executive Committee of the African Bureau.

Nationalism, he points out, is a powerful force for the liberation and development of peoples; it should be encouraged in such a way as to make a resort to Communism unlikely.

But nationalist movements on achieving power may become retrogressive; corruption and maladministration due to immaturity may follow self-government—a tendency to be seen in certain Arab states, in South America and elsewhere.

A wise policy on the part of the "parents" or erstwhile guardians should create that good neighbourly relationship which allows for a measure of guidance from "without" during the period leading up to and immediately following self-government.

It should stress, also, the place of regionalism on the one hand and of internationalism on the other: only when this is recognised can international law and world resources be made available to all, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

STUDY GROUPS ON DEVELOPMENT

We print below some extracts from the statement: "It is suggested that a preliminary conference should be held and study groups organised for the purpose of: (a) A general stocktaking in Africa, surveying

NOW it is Kenya again. This storm has broken round the cool head of Miss Eileen Fletcher, whose report on conditions in the Kenya detention camps—and especially her charge that girls aged eleven and twelve are imprisoned there—has shocked Parliament and the nation.

Miss Fletcher is a Quaker, but she was in Kenya as a government rehabilitation officer, not as a representative of the Society of Friends.

NO doubt influenced, quite sincerely, by the difficult circumstances of their work, two Christians doing voluntary social work in Kenya have repudiated her allegations.

In a cautious letter to The Times, Mr. Eric D. Cleaver, chairman of the Friends Service Council Kenya Committee, points out that, as a government officer, she "has moved much more freely and intimately in this darker side of the emergency operation than most voluntary workers."

In other words, she knows more about it than those who have disclaimed her. He adds: "In that position and in view of her conviction that she had clear evidence of injustice and oppression it would have been impossible to have remained silent."

HE also added a comment that seems to me rather fatuous—that there is an "imbalance" in her statements: "she has reported little else but injustice and oppression."

There are some good and humane officials in Kenya, and much fine voluntary work, and Miss Fletcher has said so; but she was, after all, primarily concerned to expose things that seemed to her horribly wrong. Wilberforce did not have to balance

every denunciation of the slave trade with a tribute to the paternal high-mindedness of some of the slave-owners.

IT is, in any case, impossible to meet Miss Fletcher, as I did on Friday night and not be impressed by her sincerity and competence.

One would judge her to be a woman of strong principle, but also intensely practical; compassionate, but sensible. She has that special Quaker look—the glowing, healthy, unmade-up face, the steady eyes, the firm white teeth—and her mind is obviously easy about the row she has caused because her memory and conscience are clear. "My middle name is mud," she said, with a laugh.

HER competence is as important as her sincerity. She is not a well-meaning but cranky idealist, shocked by her first contact with the grim facts of an imperial emergency.

She is a trained social worker, and was for fourteen years a first-class Civil Servant. "Is it likely," she asked me, "that I would turn irresponsibly against my own government?"

She will be 55 years old next month. She was born at Eastbourne, lives at Guildford. She studied social science under Professor Carr-Saunders at Liverpool. As long ago as 1930, her report on problems of racial inter-marriage in Britain was regarded as authoritative by official international organisations. For ten years she was a teacher; for another ten, an HM Inspector of Factories.

THEN the war came. They wanted her to do work which would have stepped up arms production. As a pacifist,

she could not (tho' she was willing to go on inspecting factories). "His Majesty's Civil Servants," she was told, in a phrase that has always stuck in her mind, "can have no other opinion than that of His Majesty's Government," was obliged to resign (forfeiting ten years' pension rights).

She worked in air-raid shelters in flow and Liverpool and spent two years in Uganda; the Friends Service Council sent her there, but the Uganda Government employed her as welfare and education officer in a camp for 3,000 displaced Poles.

IT was gratifying—and slightly amusing—to her that, at the end of the war, the War Office itself should have asked her to work as civil liaison officer on a rehabilitation course for British ex-PoW repatriated from Japan . . .

I HAVE outlined Eileen Fletcher's career in detail because Labour's attack on the Government in next Wednesday's debate will be fortified to some extent by her charges; Government spokesmen may therefore seek to discredit her.

They will have a hard job to do so. It must surely be obvious that a woman with her record does not suddenly go mad and tell a lot of lies or make a lot of silly mistakes.

An official enquiry into her charges has been promised. Some rapid covering-up may now be going on in Kenya; but not everything can be covered up when Miss Fletcher has in her possession such data as the prison numbers and tribal particulars of the children whose imprisonment has been denied . . .

FRIEND OF KENYA

By TOM DRIBERG, reprinted from Reynolds News, June 3, 1956



DISCRETION ABOUT KENYA

EILEEN FLETCHER'S reports in Peace News and later elsewhere on conditions in Kenya, particularly in detention camps and prisons, are shocking the British public and Parliament.

Among the reactions has been an editorial article in the Manchester Guardian, May 31, dealing with Eileen Fletcher's statements regarding the imprisonment of young girls in Kenya.

That editorial poses a question that calls for serious consideration, coming as it does from a newspaper of high integrity.

The Manchester Guardian remarks that, as Miss Fletcher's statements appeared in Peace News on May 4, it was a lame reply for the Colonial Secretary to say in the House of Commons in response to questions by Mr. James Johnson and Mr. Aneurin Bevan that he had telegraphed to Kenya for comment last week.

The editorial then proceeds to outline the expected "proper" answer to the charges: the situation in Kenya is desperate and hard things have to be done because of the lack of staff and suitable accommodation.

We are not quarreling with this comment, particularly as the writer remarks that circumstances such as these may explain "if they do not excuse" what happens, and those who, like Miss Fletcher, bring bad cases to light are doing good service.

What troubles us is the easy way in which general conditions that obtain in Kenya are brushed aside with the comment that such revelations and the circumstances that explain them are no reason for "concluding that the whole of the prison and of the rehabilitation system is dead rotten."

It goes on to remark that "it is quite wrong to think that all or most of the soldiers, police and Home Guards are brutal scoundrels."

★ ★
In her writings on the subject Miss Fletcher has been far from implying anything like this. Although Peace News has paid much attention in its columns to conditions in Kenya, we have never sought to convey, nor do we believe, anything so absurd as the condition of affairs that the Manchester Guardian repudiates.

What we have to face, in our view, is something much less simple and much more difficult to deal with.

Where a small class of people is engaged in a struggle to maintain its ascendancy over a much larger class, although those who are the instruments of the small class in the struggle will not all be "brutal scoundrels," it is highly likely that those who have tender consciences will find themselves at a disadvantage.

When the Manchester Guardian commends those who bring bad cases to light it should examine the circumstance in which this has been done. We think it will be found that such revelations have come only from those who have been able to leave Kenya. They do not come from those who are to continue to live in that land, and who may thus hope to work there for a decent human relationship with the African people.

★ ★
VERY pertinent in the consideration of this matter is the fact that the Reverend Michael Scott has just asked for a Parliamentary Enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the resignation of Colonel Young in 1954 as Commissioner of Police in Kenya.

Colonel Young has never felt himself free to make a public explanation of the reasons for his resignation, and Mr. Scott remarks that it had been "suggested that he had done so because justice and the rule of law did not exist for the Kikuyu people, and also because prosecutions for murder against members of the European community had been withdrawn as a result of instructions from higher authorities;" and that Colonel Young had declined to deny these suggestions.

A week or two ago a Minister in the Kenya Government, Mr. A. Macdonochie-Wellwood, is reported to have described Colonel Young as "an indiscreet policeman who has stabbed Kenya in the back."

We do well to ponder the significance of that word "indiscreet."

If we bear in mind what has subsequently happened in the cases of Europeans who have been convicted of crimes against Africans, and the steps taken by the white population when fines have been imposed to see that those concerned are indemnified, it would seem that there is a good deal more reason for disquiet than the Manchester Guardian is able to find.

Free speech for U.S. Communist

MY thoughts are still occupied to a considerable extent with the meeting the Fellowship of Reconciliation put on at Carnegie Hall, where the big New York concerts and other such events take place, on Sunday evening, May 27.

Since the event was in some measure a notable one, it is appropriate to share some reflections on it with Peace News readers here and abroad.

A panel of speakers discussed "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace," with the understanding that part of the background for holding such a discussion now consisted of the events associated with the recent Twentieth Congress of the CP of the USSR and its aftermath.

PACIFIST SPONSORED

The speakers were Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, who not long ago finished a term in jail under the Smith Act; the venerable Negro author, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who in recent years has taken a position sympathetic to that of the CP; Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, who is thought of as a sort of elder statesman by large numbers of Americans these days; and myself.

Roger Baldwin, for many years Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, acted as Moderator and the meeting was opened by Dr. Charles Lawrence, National Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a member of the faculty of Brooklyn College.

LETTER FROM USA by A. J. Muste

From the standpoint of attendance (two thousand people), interest and excitement the meeting was a great success. It was the first time that such a public discussion with Communist participation had taken place.

The For was concerned to demonstrate in unmistakable fashion its conviction that public discussion of controversial issues should again be regarded as sound procedure.

Indications are that For leaders and members take great satisfaction in the fact that the meeting, which involved some risks, was held and turned out so successfully.

It is perhaps superfluous to remark that both Charles Lawrence and I made clear our disagreement with important elements of Communist doctrine and practice and that For is not altering its policy of not engaging in united fronts.

There is obviously no space to give an outline of the addresses or of what was said in the very lively exchange among the panelists following the opening talks. I shall confine myself to a comment on two points.

In the first place, what criticism has come to my attention in the two or three days since the meeting comes mainly from present and former Trotskyists and some Socialists.

In spite of the fact that Norman Thomas devoted his address largely

THE "Peace Plan for Cyprus" outlined in last week's New Statesman offers a sane and practical way out of a situation which is daily becoming more tragic. No attempt has been made to enter into such controversial problems as the position of the Turkish minority, or of the exact future status of Cyprus, for these matters can only be settled by detailed negotiation at a later stage.

The vital concern now is to make such negotiation possible, and this is all that the plan sets out to do.

The article demands an "unequivocal proclamation" by the British Government of the principle of self-determination for Cyprus "within a specified time."

Unless the Government can be persuaded publicly to abandon its "never never" policy there can be no hope of regaining the confidence of the Greek Cypriots. The argument that such a change of policy would be merely giving way to terrorism is absurd in view of the fact that the Cypriots had demanded self-determination for over half a century before the first bomb was thrown.

Had the people not lost hope of satisfaction through peaceful negotiation, EOKA would never have emerged at all.

The plan recognises the necessity of accepting Archbishop Makarios as the only available spokesman and leader of the Greek Cypriots and emphasizes the need for resumed private negotiations with him which would make possible more formal discussions with a Cypriot delegation.

Although as little as twelve months ago it would have seemed doubtful whether pronouncements made by the Archbishop would have been acceptable to the strong Left-wing party in Cyprus, Makarios' position has undoubtedly been strengthened by recent British policy.

As the acclaimed national hero and martyr, the Archbishop is certainly a man whose co-operation would be extremely valuable—if it could be won.

Return Makarios

EMPHASIS is laid on the importance of a "convincing amnesty" to accompany a joint demand by the Colonial Secretary and Makarios to EOKA to lay down arms. The refusal to grant such an amnesty was one of the causes of the failure of previous negotiations, and a righteous attempt was made to condemn the Archbishop as a Christian for his reluctance to restrain EOKA. How any national leader could willingly sacrifice the heroes of a "war of liberation" and retain prestige was not explained because the Colonial Office has refused to accept the fact that the aims, if not the methods, of EOKA are approved by the great majority of Greek Cypriots.

Finally—and most important of all—the New Statesman insists on the extreme urgency of the need for a

settlement. In one short year the island has changed from the most tolerant, peaceable spot in the Middle East to an armed camp where soldiers are busily engaged in erecting a "permanent" barbed wire barricade between different groups of anxious, frightened citizens.

As the New Statesman points out, both sides must now be aware that nothing is to be gained by the "vicious circle of violence," but with every week that passes hope of a sane and lasting solution recedes.

The dramatic intervention of M. Mendes-France in Tunisia in 1954 is quoted as an example of a successful

Cyprus Conscience

ful new approach to a colonial problem, but it seems extremely doubtful whether such a new approach is possible without a change of personalities.

Not only Makarios, but all the people of Cyprus are unlikely to put much faith in renewed offers of negotiation by the same men who have become associated with repressive measures.

The appointment of Field-Marshal Sir John Harding as Governor symbolised a "get tough" policy, and his replacement by a diplomat might do something to allay suspicion of our intentions.

But the Cyprus Government can do little without the support of Whitehall and it is there that a change is so urgently needed.

Conscripts' conscience

ON page six we publish a letter from a conscript who recently refused to complete his infantry training. The chaplain intervened and he has been transferred to medical work. He is not resisting war, or conscription, or militarism; but his conscience is satisfied and the Army has kept its man.

But this young man is alive; he is aware that war does pose an ethical problem, and has faced it and found a solution for himself.

This is triumph, not tragedy. The tragedy is that there are thousands of conscripts who are not aware, or who repress their own misgivings, or abandon themselves to dull despair—at eighteen; and others who are unconsciously conscientious objectors, and the great mass who consciously object, but hardly know why.

We know of another correspondent, this time in the RAF, who has still to find his solution.

He has written to the Principal Chaplain for advice and been told to make quite sure that it is God's will for him that he should object to military service.

We wonder whether the Chaplain is as anxious to assure that all the other airmen in his care are doing God's will.

Right of objection

CLIFFORD MACQUIRE, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was present by invitation at the Stockholm meeting of the World Peace Council in April.

In the course of his speech Clifford Macquire remarked that "a peace movement worthy of the name must insist that wherever men and women take seriously their disbelief in war and make a personal renunciation of it they shall have the right of conscientious objection."

He went on to suggest that the World Peace Council should endorse a proposal that every country should recognise the right of conscientious objection to war.

The question was referred to the Bureau of the World Peace Council, which has undertaken to give the matter urgent consideration.

There are two main points at issue: one is that there should be the legal right to state a conscientious objection and seek exemption from military service; the other is that there shall be the right to testify publicly that one is opposed to participation in war and to organise for the expression of this view.

The second of these aspects is more important. Among the nations that have military conscription but do not recognise conscientious objection are France and Bulgaria. If, as we hope, following consideration by the World Peace Council, some changes take place, the decision may have more effect in Bulgaria than in France.

Should the change in Bulgaria, however, go no further than a formal recognition of the right of an objector to apply for exemption, the position in Bulgaria, from the pacifist point of view, would remain a great deal worse than in France where there is no exemption.

We shall know

THE treatment of objectors in France is particularly harsh. The difference from treatment of COs in Bulgaria is that we know what that treatment is. We are able to obtain information regarding the objectors. We know nothing of the treatment accorded to the men who refuse military service on grounds of conscience in Bulgaria. We do not know how harsh it is, and we learn nothing of the men to whom it is applied.

Should it be decided—as we hope—to establish the right of conscientious objection in Bulgaria, this would not mean that we should learn what was to happen to the men whose objections were not allowed.

Should we be able next Christmas to include in our lists information dealing with war resisters East of the Oder and the Danube as well as in the West we shall know that a great advance has been made.

From the Editor's Notebook

Muriel Lester
KINGSLEY HALL, the pacifist social centre in London's East End with which George Lansbury's name is closely linked, saw a welcome home meeting for Muriel Lester last week.

At 72 Muriel Lester had just completed another world tour preaching the gospel of non-violence, urging disarmament and forging new links between peace workers in many countries.

Earl and Countess Attlee and the Mayor and Mayoress of Poplar were thanked for being present by Harry Everett, leader of the Bow Peace Pledge Union group which has its headquarters at the Hall.

To all mankind

MURIEL LESTER said that while in Indonesia she was cared for and accompanied round the country by young students whose desire for progress in this recently freed territory gave them a spirited urge for service not only to their own country but to all mankind.

Although Muriel Lester retired from the travelling secretaryship of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation last year and will be having a rest in England, it is my guess that she will be off on another trip soon.

International mail-bag

WE have just received: A May Day greeting card on behalf of three million Japanese trade unionists

concerned to strengthen "international solidarity for peace."

A note from Bill Sutherland, working at Tsito, Gold Coast, saying that he saw Peace News in the Common Room of Akimfo Hall at the University; and

A post card from 75-year-old Stephen Hobhouse of Broxbourne, Herts (UK), who tells me that he is writing many letters to India in an attempt to persuade the government to ban the capture and export of monkeys for vivisection. "I feel very strongly about this as part of my pacifism," as also did Gandhi," he writes.

New reader

HOW were you first introduced to Peace News? I had an interesting answer from a reader who has recently left the City of London School (notorious for its compulsory cadet force and the expulsion, nearly four years ago, of Paul Brown who would not serve in it).

He had picked the paper up at school when it fell from another boy's bag, some six months ago.

Our new reader, Elkan Premaratne, should not only be congratulated on his lucky find. He has recently been awarded an Open Exhibition in History to Brasenose College, Oxford.

Leslie Hale

LESLIE HALE, MP for Oldham West, has joined the Labour Party in the Fellowship is now 12.

a monthly column by
STUART MORRIS

No cabinet of Bishops

ASKED at his diocesan conference if the Bishops were in a conspiracy to refrain from speaking out on matters of national and international importance and if they discussed them in private and left the Archbishop of Canterbury to make public statements, the Bishop of Bristol stated that there was not a cabinet of Bishops.

He added:

"This whole question of the Church commenting on economic, political and racial questions is an extremely difficult one. If we do not speak we are blamed for silence; if we do speak we are told we are interfering in spheres beyond our province."

Much the same question was asked of the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in a radio interview which referred to the pronouncements made by the Assembly on matters like Cyprus and Premium Bonds.

The Moderator rightly pointed out that any such pronouncements need not and should not be uninformed since there was a fund of political and economic knowledge at the disposal of the Church.

As to "interference"—in this writer's view religion is not a matter which only concerns a man's own soul.

It must enter into all man's relationships with others and salvation involves a redeemed community as well as a redeemed individual.

Those who are primarily concerned with the economic or political security of their country will take decisions on that basis and put moral considerations in a subsidiary place.

It is the duty of religious leaders to bring all such policies under the judgement of moral principles, and it is past failure to do this which now leads to the charge of interference when it is occasionally done.

The Churches must supply men who like the prophets of old are prepared to rebuke political leaders with "Thus saith the Lord" and not only pass a moral judgement on particular policies but condemn as immoral the readiness to use the method of war, when conditions nearly all policies.

But need of spiritual leadership

IN an interesting leading article the Catholic Herald finds a relation between what it calls three plans which seem to promise a happier world. The first is the possibility of reshaping NATO from an organ of military defence to one which would meet the Communist challenge on a more human plane.

The second is the jubilee celebrations of the encyclical of Pius XI called "Quadragesimo Anno"—the pronouncement on the Reconstruction of Social Order which brought up to date the previous "Rerum Novarum" of Leo XIII, known as "The Workers' Charter."

The third is the recent Novena of prayer for Christian Unity. The writer points out that Communism has been built up on a positive philosophy and a positive action and has something to offer to those sections of humanity which have had the rawest deal.

But it disregards the individual as such and has no scruple about the means it uses.

The free world on the other hand has mainly to rely on negative and hypothetical offers of freedom rights and prosperity if things go well.

The article argues that because man is a spiritual being his hope and achievement cannot be based on a purely material foundation. Paradoxically the West has afforded a genuine material progress with which man is never satisfied and Communism has given a caricature of spiritual hope which has deluded millions.

No merely political or economic plan can provide the answer and the fundamental question about NATO is what moral and spiritual ideal it can offer. The Catholic Herald sees in the Novena for Christian Unity a pointer since every growth in mutual understanding between Christians (including would-be Christians), every expression of love can prepare the way for the definite spiritual leadership which is the vital necessity.

But a spiritual order is not enough for men, and the writer claims that in the social encyclicals there are the principles which show how a tolerable social and industrial order must be fashioned in the light of man's spiritual being if he is to live decently.

Until the free world recognises the primacy of the spiritual order it cannot hope for much more than the propping up of one false philosophy by another, nor will it have any real defence against the bogus hope preached by Communism.

It would have been more helpful if the Catholic Herald had stated that what falsifies the philosophies is their acceptance of violence. War not only denies to man the economic conditions for a decent life but it violates his spiritual nature.

Until the Christian Churches together denounce violence and call upon men to renounce war there is little hope of an end to their "unhappy divisions" or of the establishment of an order of life which will satisfy man's material and spiritual needs.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endeavour Street, W.E.1

END CALL-UP AND DISARM—Frank Allaun, MP

THE government can be forced to end the curse of the call-up within two years, said Mr. Frank Allaun, MP for Salford East, last week.

"The trade union and Labour movement possess great strength today and it should use it to make the government give way," he told the annual conference of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers at Llandudno, where he was the guest speaker.

"Last autumn the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party conferences called for a cut in the period of national service. This autumn, I predict, they will demand that it be completely abolished."

UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

Mr. Allaun said he believed that the recent decision of the Amalgamated Engineering Union to press for an immediate reduction in the call-up as a step towards ending it was the best way to formulate the demand.

"It is utterly immoral," he declared, "to send conscripts of 18 to Cyprus, not to defend Britain but to deal with the mess created by our own government's provocative and repressive actions."

All the arguments for ending national service had been strengthened by Russia's announcement of a further cut of 1,200,000 men in her armed forces.

The British Government should now say to Russia, "Right. We'll abolish national service and if you will respond with another cut we'll go further on our side."

Britain should join the disarmament race, by example—we shall be more likely to be successful than by the old method of seeking collective disarmament," he said.

Ever since 1927 he had watched with dismay the failure of the world's statesmen to find a disarmament formula which would not give one Great Power some superiority in arms over the others.

To reduce international tension Britain should give an immediate lead in cutting its fantastic arms burden.

U.S. Quakers report on Russia

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

RUSSIA'S massive education programme, her sharp class distinctions, the surprising spiritual vigour of her people and the evidence of relaxing internal controls, all help to give Soviet society a fluid quality, six American Quakers say in a report on their month-long 12,000 mile trip in Russia last summer.

This impression, "almost the strongest they received," is reported in a 96-page booklet, "Meeting the Russians," published in Philadelphia by the American Friends Service Committee.

Their report, written before the recent de-glorification of Stalin, says, "Forces are at work which will certainly make the future very different from the past. To assume the contrary is to dehumanise the Russians and reduce the operation of society to a mechanical formula."

The new forces in Soviet life do not fit neatly into the Marxist doctrine and are "adding a crucial dimension to Russian life," the Quakers say.

"A whole nation has been taught to read an increasing number to think and to think well. This educational programme has been necessary to carry forward the national programme of industrialisation and to indoctrinate the people with Marxism. But education, once provided, is not easy to control. How long will men well trained in the scientific process accept without question Party pronouncements?"

GAINING STRENGTH

"We found enough evidence of spiritual vigour to suggest that the Communist concern over a religious revival is well founded. The church and the synagogue and mosque labour under difficulties, but neither persecution nor persuasion has yet succeeded in removing them from the Soviet scene, and in our opinion, they are gaining rather than losing strength."

The Quakers warn that these developments have not progressed very far and may be reversed by the government, "but the farther they go, the more difficult it is to return to earlier patterns."

Three of those on the trip are on the staff of the American Friends Service Committee. They are Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary Emeritus; Hugh Moore, Finance Secretary;

and Stephen G. Cary, head of the American Section. The others were Wroe Alderson, a marketing expert; Eleanor Zelliot, assistant to the editor of the American Friend; and Russian-speaking William Edgerton, a professor at Pennsylvania State University.

SINGING STAR AT UN



Miss Lena Horne, noted singing star, narrating a feature for recorded broadcast over UN radio. Miss Horne told of how a health centre set up by the United Nations Children's Fund in the Philippines brought new hope to a stricken and deplendent family.

RESTORING MENTAL INDEPENDENCE

By VERA BRITTAIN

PEACE NEWS readers should make a point of seeing *STORM CENTRE* now showing at the Odéon Cinema, Leicester Square, in London.

Bette Davis gives in this film a most sincere and impressive performance as the elderly New England librarian who, from respect for the integrity of the human mind, refuses to throw an old book, "THE COMMUNIST DREAM," out of the library at the demand of the local Councilors, and thereby becomes the victim of a heresy-hunt.

As the controversy develops, the hatreds which rend the town are reflected in the personal relationships of the chief protagonists, until a small boy, the former devotee of the sacked librarian, burns down the library in a fit of bewildered hysteria.

When the flames reach the bookshelves, the works of Milton and Voltaire, the speeches of Abraham Lincoln, and finally *THE STORY OF JESUS*, symbolically tumble into the fire.

This tragedy shocks the small town into a new understanding of mental independence, and the librarian returns to help her judges rebuild the library.

Pacifists will find in this film a reminder of the fundamental meaning of their creed.

AID TO REFUGEES

THE sum of \$35,000 constituting the Nobel Prize for Peace awarded this year to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, will be devoted to the task of eliminating one of the most pitiful refugee camps in Europe.

In making this announcement, Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, High Commissioner, said that the money will be spent to find permanent homes for 125 men, women and young children of Eastern European origin who have been marooned in a camp on the tiny Greek island of Tinos for several years.

The island is bare and all but uninhabited, and for a long time the refugees have been subsisting on one meal a day made of soup, bread and olives.

The Norwegian Refugee Council and the Swiss Aid to Europe will contribute toward the costly programme of resettlement and will demonstrate to the world "that prompt and effective means of solving the refugee problem do exist."—WAP.

TREAT EVIL WITH CHARITY

MR. VICTOR GOLLANCZ read this quotation at the close of the recent Festival Hall rally sponsored by the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment:

"For what then do I ask your aid? The civilisation of Penal Laws. The gentle laws of Christ will penetrate at last into the Code, and shine through its enactments. We shall look on crime as a disease, and its physicians shall displace the judges, its hospitals displace the gallies. Liberty and health shall be alike. We shall pour balm and oil where we formerly applied iron and fire; evil will be treated in charity instead of in anger. This change will be simple and sublime: The Cross shall displace the gallows."

—From "The Last Days of a Condemned," by Victor Hugo.

MAY 4 ISSUE SOLD OUT

READERS are asked to return any spare copies of May 4 issue of Peace News in large unsealed envelopes to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

NON-VIOLENCE IN KENYA

FURTHER substantiation of the non-violent character of a resistance movement in Kenya has now reached Peace News. (For earlier reports see PN February 10, 17 and March 9.)

This report referred to the arrest of over 60 persons in June and July 1955. It appeared in the Sunday Post, Nairobi, on January 22. No report of these arrests appeared in Kenya until late January 1956. Comparable information concerning the reported 1,000 arrests, said to have taken place the following week, has not yet appeared.

The article by "Sunday Post Reporter" was headed: **MAU MAU SWITCH THEIR TACTICS. Violence abandoned, but aims unchanged.** It stated:

"An unspecified number of arrests have been made of former Mau Mau detainees who had been released from Manyani detention camp and were later found to be supporting a new underground movement pledged to support Mau Mau aims, but by new non-violent methods."

"There is evidence that the Mau Mau organisation as hitherto known, with its pattern of violence and revolting oath-taking ceremonies, is being largely replaced by a new passive movement of groups by several different names but with a common general policy."

"Kiama kia Muingi," the 'Society of the Masses,' and 'Kiama kia Aira,' the 'Society of

the Witnesses' are two of the largest groups in the movement.

"It has been developing for some time. A spokesman of the Ministry of Defence and Internal Security told the Sunday Post this week that it began at the Moral Re-armament detention camp at Athi River, and spread to Manyani.

"Detainees released from Manyani have been found to be supporters of the organisation and have been re-arrested and sent back for a further period of detention."

'Nipped in the bud'

"The Government cannot estimate the present strength of the organisation, but believes that as a result of firm action taken when it was discovered, its development was 'nipped in the bud.'"

"Attempts have been made to introduce new oath-taking procedure among detainees in some camps, but the Government says this has been 'firmly handled.'"

"So much for Government's view. From several separate unofficial sources, including Government officials, the Church, and informed Kikuyu opinion in Nairobi, the Sunday Post learns that the movement is widespread, and is aimed at an ingenious form of appeasement of Government and the European."

"Convinced that the cost of violence has been too heavy a burden for the Kikuyu people to bear without faltering in their enthusiasm for Mau Mau, certain leaders, inside detention camps and out, believe the cause of Mau Mau must be advanced by more or less economic pressure."

"An important aim of the movement is to avoid subversion and make it extremely difficult for Government to pinpoint definite cases of subversive activity."

"Membership calls for emphasis on politeness to Europeans, an eagerness to obey orders, and an apparent willingness to co-operate with Government."

"There have been many cases of open admission of membership of these groups, and insistence under questioning that they are 'good' and have no subversive intent."

Non-violence: a new problem

"Apart from activity in camps at Athi River and Manyani, a considerable following for the movement has been discovered in the Embu area, where upwards of 60 arrests are believed to have been made."

"At Manyani where there are 15,300 detainees, Col. William Terry, the prison commandant, told the Sunday Post that very little detail had been discovered about the movement, beyond the fact that meetings had been held in the compounds."

"Whatever its [Kiama kia Aira's] precise meaning, the general aim of the Society of the Witnesses' is to keep the bitter memories of the early struggles alive in the minds of the Kikuyu, at the same time advocating different methods now. In a way, Africans in this category will act as Mau Mau historians."

"Fortunately, the Government are far more alive to the danger of the new movement than they were to the development of Mau Mau in its original form."

"The task now is to evolve new techniques to meet a passive, non-violent movement. Force has answered force effectively. This is a new problem."

POUNDS FOR PEACE



DURING the month of June Parliament will be discussing the Finance Bill, and, incidentally, taking a decision on Premium Bonds about which opinions of pacifists will differ.

But we do not differ in our conviction that the money spent on war preparations is a wicked waste of our resources. One-third of the budget is allocated for "defence"—a total of 1,500 million pounds.

It may help us to appreciate the immensity of that sum if we remember that it represents approximately £100 a second, day and night throughout the year—£6,000, say, while you are reading this.

For all whose tax is deducted before they receive their income a refusal to pay the proportion which goes on war preparation is unfortunately not possible.

We can, and should, make our protest, but the most effective answer is to make a voluntary payment for the abolition of war in proportion to the amount we are compelled to pay for preparations for war.

Moreover, the Peace Pledge Union HQ Fund offers you a less debatable scheme than Premium Bonds by asking you to send £1 without exacting interest in order to help the PPU to "win" at least £1,000.

So please send that £1 for the work of the Peace Pledge Union and not for a Premium Bond or send a voluntary gift for peacemaking to offset what you are compelled to pay for war preparation.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1956: £1,150.

Amount received to date: £524.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endeavour Street, London, W.C.1.

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The Church in today's life

By WILFRED WELLOCK

The Church in the New Age, by E. C. Urwin.
A Christian view of Industry in relation to the Social Order, by P. K. Byrnes. Epworth Press, London, 6d. each.

THESE two Beckley pamphlets are aimed at inducing Christians to face up to the outstanding social and industrial problems of our time, and to be fearless in the application of Christian principles to their solution.

The first one calls for a strengthening of the Christian conscience and conviction with a view to larger numbers of Christians acting as steady forces upon public opinion in an age when the tendency to war hysteria is so marked.

It wants a bigger percentage of Christians to recognise their responsibility as members of the body politic, and fearlessly to bear witness to the mind of Christ in all the crises that are likely to occur in the critical period we are now entering.

The second one states in forthright manner the evils and the problems to which modern industrialism has given rise.

It however makes the mistake of accepting the inevitability of the present mass production system. It thus asks for the application of the Christian spirit and Christian principles in conditions which are antithetic to them.

In so doing it fails to recognise that frag-

CONSCIENCE MUST BE OBEYED

By Robert Green

Portrait of a Parson, by Susan Miles, Allen and Unwin, London, 10s. 6d.

Gunner Asch Goes to War, by Hans Hellmut Kirst, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 13s. 6d.

THE subject of PORTRAIT OF A PARSON is the Church of England clergyman, William Corbett Roberts, who died in 1953; and its author, who uses the pseudonym Susan Miles, is really the widow of the late Mr. Roberts. Here is the life story of a good, intelligent and scholarly man, a Christian pacifist who was in many respects an original thinker.

This appreciation of Roberts' life takes us from the days when, a Socialist curate, he organised the meeting at which George Lansbury declared himself for Christianity, to those of his ministry at St. George's, Bloomsbury.

Towards the end of his life William Corbett Roberts preached a sermon on the text "Render Unto Caesar..." in which he reaffirmed his life-long attitude on war:

Conscience must be obeyed even though it means standing alone. What matters supremely is that the verdict of the conscience is that of one whose citizenship is in Heaven.

PORTRAIT OF A PARSON will not need to be recommended to those who knew this remarkable man. To those, like myself, who knew him only by repute it will prove still another revelation of the Christian spirit in action, and as applied to the main controversial issues of our time.

Good news from Germany. GUNNER ASCH GOES TO WAR, an exposure of total war, bitter and humorous by turns, is a sensational best-seller in Western Germany. Herr Kirst gives an excellent picture of the hero, Gunner Asch, who is determined not to be taken in or to lose his identity as a human being during his reluctant service in the Wehrmacht.

The battle scenes—set on the Russian Front in 1942—are as convincing as Herr Kirst's recreation of the standstill that precedes them. It is very pleasing to salute this magnificent anti-militarist novel which deserves a wide audience in this country too. Do try to get hold of it.

You should read:

INDOMITABLE FRIEND 12s. 6d. (8d.)

William R. Hughes, splendid biography of Corder Catchpool.

NAUGHT FOR

YOUR COMFORT 15s. (8d.)

Father Trevor Huddleston on South Africa.

FROM DARKNESS

TO LIGHT 15s. (9d.)

Victor Gollancz's Confession of Faith in the form of an anthology.

HISTORY IN A

CHANGING WORLD 18s. (9d.)

G. Barraclough.

THE QUIET IN

THE LAND 7s. 6d. (6d.)

D. W. Lambert's studies of the early Friends.

NEW OUTLINE OF

MODERN KNOWLEDGE 18s. (9d.)

A 700-page work by well-known authorities on Philosophy, Religion, Music, Art, etc., etc. Published by Victor Gollancz.

A MEANS OF GRACE 15s. (9d.)

Edith Pargiter's (of SOLDIER AT THE DOOR fame) latest novel.

Please add postage as bracketed

Every book in print can be supplied promptly—all profits help the work of Peace News.

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

mented men working in the materialistic atmosphere of an expanding economy motivated by the demand for maximum consumption of goods and services, maximum profits, wages and salaries and maximum use of differentials in order to acquire them, cannot escape from their many-sided enslavement other than by means of a profound spiritual and social revolution.

It is this revolution which Christians should be working out today.

The Lords Prayer

The Prayer of the Ages, by Richard Whitwell, The C. W. Daniel Co., London, 12s. 6d.

THE author has filled this book with a wealth of inspiring thought. Much of it is his own, and much is in quotations from the mystical writers and the poets with whom he has long kept company.

Around the phrases of the Lord's Prayer he has written far-ranging meditations which are a treasury of good things. For this reason his book can be heartily commended, despite a lack of ordered and logical development and a style that is not always simple.

It is a book to read slowly. Any paragraph can start the reader on profitable meditations of his own. It is the work of one who knows and can communicate the secrets of gracious and happy living and of delight in things seen and unseen.

FEAR

They searched throughout

the darkness,

Hurried to the dawn,

Built their walls and

buttresses

Around their homes and corn,

Contrived the aid of terror,

Watched at every gate,

To lay that evil monster,

The parasite of hate.

T. GAMBLE.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Because of the increase in the inland printed matter rate the cost of postage for a single copy of Peace News is increased to 2d. from today. Overseas subscriptions are not affected, nor is there any increase in the charge for mailing more than one copy.

Existing postal subscribers have been advised that the period of their outstanding subscriptions will be slightly shortened. The new rates for Great Britain are 5s. for 10 weeks, 10s. for 20 weeks and 25s. a year.

Trial subscriptions to new readers will in future cost 2s. 6d. for eight weeks supply. All subscription rates include postage.

Three British Police Officers have been returned to Britain as "unsuitable" since the emergency was declared in Cyprus.

Denmark's military expenditure has increased nearly three-fold since she joined NATO.

Letters to the Editor

Collective pacifism

THE PPU should first decide its own scope and then decide in the light of that decision whether it wishes to be affiliated to the WRI. One cannot properly start with the premise of affiliation and then deduce from that affiliation the proper scope of the PPU. However, neither Sybil Morrison nor I wish the PPU to disaffiliate.

Arlo Tatum saw in my letter (PN, May 18) something which rendered "inappropriate" Sybil Morrison's comment (same issue) on the WRI. If Arlo Tatum were correct in this, Sybil Morrison and I would merely be differing on the interpretation of the WRI's reference to "all causes of war," which would not affect the main issue.

In fact the correspondence revealed no such difference. Sybil Morrison observed that the expression "all causes of war" included "the acceptance of war as a method" and that it was open to be argued that this was the only cause of war.

I criticised the WRI's reference to "the removal of all causes of war" in the sense of "causes of disputes likely to lead to war." A WRI amendment on the lines of my comment would merely render explicit and universally operative the limitation which Sybil Morrison inferred as permissive.

Pacifists are agreed (I assume) that, no matter what disputes may arise, war should not be adopted as a means to a solution.

This is pacifism. Pacifists do not agree on how to avoid the disputes themselves; they neither have nor should be expected to have any corporate views on the disputes themselves or their causes.

B. W. CAMPBELL.

Ewhurst,

16 Charnmouth Road,

St. Albans, Herts.

Lesson from history

IN this world of bewilderment, it is amazing how little thought seems to be given to what Jesus said and did in a similar, but far more difficult, environment.

With his country under the rule of the alien, pagan, military dictatorship of Imperial Rome, patriotism was identified with making secret preparations for armed rebellion, the movement which culminated, some forty years later, in the complete destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation.

Yet, from the very beginning of his ministry, Jesus completely rejected that form of patriotism and all that it involved. Why?

Clearly it was not fear to challenge evil in high places, as the scribes and Pharisees soon found, to their surprise. Nor was it lack of love for his country: "O Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, but ye would not." Nor was it fear of Rome, nor collaboration with her, nor lack of knowledge of her evils.

Jesus knew the sins of Imperial Rome; her ruthless aggressions; the vast numbers of captives made slaves, and the galley-slaves chained to the oars of Roman ships; the irresponsible forced labour; the atrocities inflicted upon prisoners and in the execution of criminals; and her profligate life, supported by taxes upon the conquered regions.

Yet we have no record of his having even voiced a criticism of Rome.

A child's life of Gandhi

AS TOLD BY
GERTRUDE MURRAY TO
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

He wants to be a doctor

Last week we read how Gandhi, still a schoolboy but married to Kasturba, tried meat-eating and smoking; he later confessed and asked his father's forgiveness.

WHEN Gandhi was about 16 his kind father died. This was a great grief to the sensitive boy, for he loved his father dearly. Shortly after this a baby was born to Kasturba, but the poor little thing only lived a few days. This made Gandhi still more unhappy.

The death of the head of the household made the question of Gandhi's career very important. The family was not rich, although the father had been a Dewan (Prime Minister). He had been a man of very simple tastes who was fond of doing good to others and cared nothing for money.

His elder son was now to take his place in ruling the family's affairs. The younger son, it was decided, must take up some profession that would bring in good earnings.

So after Gandhi had matriculated an old friend of the family suggested that the boy should go to England to study law. Then he would be sure to earn well and perhaps become a Dewan as his father had been.

This idea pleased Gandhi very much. He wanted to start for England at once, but he said that he preferred the idea of studying medicine rather than law, if no one had any objection.

WANTING to be a doctor had been one of his earliest wishes, and it never left him all his life. During his father's illness he had been a faithful nurse to him, and he had always loved caring for sick people.

Later on I shall tell you of some of the wonderful things he did for the sick when he grew up.

His family did not like the idea of his becoming a doctor. Then, too, in those days, orthodox Hindus were terribly against the idea of travelling across the sea to other countries. They thought it was a great sin. So even the idea of studying law seemed likely to come to nothing.

Gandhi did not let the matter drop so easily, however, and at last he overcame the objections of all but one person. This was his mother.

She was afraid that he might not lead a good life if he went so far from her side. She thought he might grow careless in religious matters, and eat meat and drink wine. He promised her that he would be very careful and not do anything to displease her while he was away. So at last she gave her consent.

There were, of course, many things to arrange before so long a journey could be made, and some little time passed before he sailed for England. He was now a lad of nineteen.

Kasturba was also nineteen and she had a new baby to take the place of the one who had died. The young husband must have been very sorry to leave them both, although he was so excited at the thought of foreign travel.

HIS elder brother had brought him a good outfit of European clothing, so that people might not stare at him when he got to England. Gandhi found these new clothes very strange and uncomfortable, and he did not like the necktie at all.

As he was now a strict vegetarian again, and did not know what sort of food he might be given on board ship, he took a large stock of sweets and dried fruit with him. It was a good thing that he did so as we shall see.

As soon as he set foot in the dining room of the ship he noticed that all the passengers used knives and forks in the European style. This made him feel very shy, as up till that time he had only eaten in the Indian way,

using his fingers.

As he feared it would be impossible for him to manage knives and forks without accidents, he decided not to go into the dining room at all. Instead he passed his meal-times in his cabin, eating his dried fruits and sweetmeats.

His thoughtful elder brother had put him in the care of an Indian gentleman who was going to England on the same boat.

This gentleman did his best to make Gandhi talk with the other passengers, telling him that it would be a good way both to practise English and to get over his shyness.

NEXT WEEK: Gandhi lands in England.

POSTER COMPETITION

How would you advertise Peace News?

Readers are invited to submit slogans, ideas or completed designs for a 24" x 11" horizontal Peace News advertisement for display in London's Underground trains. Not more than two colours should be used.

A prize of a One Guinea Book Token will be awarded for a slogan or idea which we are able to use, or a two guinea Token for an acceptable completed design.

Entries should reach Peace News office by June 18, and should be addressed to:

THE CIRCULATION MANAGER,
PEACE NEWS,
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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Seretse's exile means TRIBAL LEADERS DEPORTED

By Gene Sharp

THE LAST OF THREE ARTICLES BASED ON DOCUMENTS
MADE AVAILABLE BY FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

ONE of the main grievances of the members of the Bamangwato Tribe who are supporters of Seretse is that the Government have arbitrarily removed tribal Headmen, Sub-Chiefs and Chief's Representatives who have favoured Seretse's return.

Some of these have actually been deported arbitrarily from their places of residence. The Headmen were deported at the time when Rasebolai was appointed Native Authority.

The Commonwealth Relations Office have admitted that five Chief's Representatives were

dismissed on May 30, 1952, "after they had sought deliberately to prevent the communication of Her Majesty's Government's views to the tribe assembled in Kgofa."

Seretse's supporters charge that the deposed Sub-Chiefs or Headmen were all supporters of Seretse, and that those men appointed to succeed them are all supporters of Tshekedi Khama.

According to the Law and Custom of the Bamangwato Tribe the positions of Sub-Chief and Headman are hereditary positions. They can be relieved of their posts only on commission of an offence against the tribe and after the accusations against them have been discussed and decided upon in Kgofa.

In none of the instances concerning the deposing of the Sub-Chiefs and Headmen mentioned here, were they brought before a Kgofa to discuss their individual cases nor were reasons given for their dismissal, except for the five dismissed on May 30, 1952, cited above.

On May 31, 1952, the District Commissioner and Native Authority for the Bamangwato Reserve wrote to Manyaphiri I. Sekgoma, then Chief's Representative at Mahalapye as follows:

Deported

"As recent events in Serowe have shown that a section of the Bamangwato are quite unwilling to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government, and as Government has no faith in the ability of the present leaders to conduct the affairs of the Tribe, in a constitutional manner, I am directed by the resident Commissioner to inform you that His Excellency the High Commissioner has decided that these leaders and all Chief's Representatives will cease to be recognised by Government forthwith."

"2. Accordingly in terms of Chapter 56 of the Laws of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, I have to inform you that your appointment as Chief's Representative at Mahalapye is hereby revoked and the warrant authorising you to hold a Native Court in terms of Chapter 5 of the Laws of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is cancelled."

"3. The revocation of your appointment as Chief's Representative and the cancellation of your Court Warrant take effect today."

Manyaphiri I. Sekgoma has reported in detail how he was forced to move from Mahalapye in 1954 although he was still ill, having only recently returned from Johannesburg where he had been forced by illness to remain some months. His possessions were taken to Serowe, but he was never told where they were stored.

He was forced on order of the Native Authority to go to Serowe, despite the District Commissioner's having confirmed his need to keep an appointment with a specialist medical doctor in Johannesburg.

93 years old

On Manyaphiri Sekgoma's arrival in Serowe he reported to the Native Authority, but no notice was ever taken of him; he was never shown where he could live, or where he could build himself a home, or a field to plough. Eventually he went to his cattle post near Mahalapye and has since lived there. He has never received any compensation for his huts at Mahalapye or other fields to plough.

He wrote: "Not only were we deposed. We were removed from places which we had come to regard as our homes for no known reasons, and in circumstances which would shock the civilised world. Our rulers are spiteful and vengeful because we decided in favour of Seretse Khama and not Tshekedi, their leader and the real Native Authority, as Rasebolai is a mere henchman of his."

Something of what the arbitrary deposing of Headmen has meant to them as individuals is indicated by the personal account of Ramosamo Kebonang one of those deposed:

"In June 1952 I was arrested at Sefale for riots which took place in Serowe some 116 miles away. When I was under arrest the District Commissioner told me verbally that I was deposed. The absurdity of arresting me for a riot that took place more than 100 miles away was pointed out to Government and I was released."

"On my release the District Commissioner again told me that I was deposed, and must have nothing to do with the Kgofa. In spite of the fact that it was found that I had nothing to do with the Serowe riots the District Commissioner refused to help me get back home."

"I walked back home at the age of 93. I cannot now describe the savage manner in which I was arrested, at the age of 93 and when I did not resist in any way. I was so hurt that a doctor was sent to attend me when I was in prison."

"Well I went back to Sefhare which was now my home, to live there as my home, and

*Commander Nobel, in the House of Commons, May 10, 1956.

†In a letter to Lord Rathereedan, March 24, 1956.

‡From a letter to Lord Rathereedan, March 23, 1956.

To hearts of England

"Many things are done here which you people do not know and which are incomprehensible to you. We suffer great injustices and we receive no redress from the Representatives of Her Majesty's Government here."

"Many things which are done here would shock even the hardest hearts in England if they were revealed to you people. I suppose the distance from England and the influence of other ideologies tend to make the representatives of Her Majesty's Government here lose sight of the ideals and susceptibilities of their people in England."

—Ramosamo Kebonang, deposed Headman in a letter to Lord Rathereedan, March 23, 1956.

subsequently Masetsane I. Sekgoma was sent to Sefhare as the Subordinate Native Authority. On his arrival he summoned me to the Kgofa and told me that he was instructed by the Native Authority and the District Commissioner to tell me that I must take everything of mine and trek to Serowe.

"After two weeks a truck came to load me and my things, I explained that I would not load because (1) I did not know why I was being removed, and (2) if there was a place for me to go into when I reached Serowe."

"The truck went back home without me. After a few days I followed to Serowe to find (1) and (2) above. I went to the Kgofa to see the Native Authority. The latter took me to the District Commissioner who told me that I was not to go back to Sefhare, but that I must remain in Serowe. No reasons were given for my removal from Sefhare."

"I was prevented to visit my wife and children who were still in Sefhare, and no reason was ever given me. After about four months four trucks were sent to bring my things from Sefhare."

"Three trucks carried grain and the fourth other things. I was instructed to off-load immediately..."

"After a month another truck brought my ploughs and some of my dependants. Then two other trucks belonging to the Tribal Administration brought the remaining things, furniture, etc., most of which was damaged beyond repair as it was not packed."

"Owing to the illness of my grand-daughter my wife did not come until after another month. I had to build huts hurriedly to accommodate my family and this in spite of the Native Authority's order that I should not build."

"Later the Native Authority sent Neo Mosiakgabo to tell me that I was to pay the expenses incurred in my removal in respect of five of the seven trucks. I told him I would not do so, and so far nothing has been done to make me pay..."

"The fields I ploughed before I was appointed to Sefhare are being ploughed by somebody else, and on my return I was given no fields of my own."

"When I was at Sefhare I put up six huts for which I have received no compensation whatever."

Removed

The following are a few examples of the policy of removal of Headmen or Sub-Chiefs who are supporters of Seretse Khama:

- (i) At Bokakane, Royal Headman Apate Kgumano, Seretse's uncle, was deposed and replaced by Motlatsi Kgumano.
- (ii) At Mahalapye, Chief's Representative Manyaphiri I. Sekgoma was deposed and replaced temporarily by the District Commissioner at Mahalapye until Gaselina Sekgoma was appointed. Manyaphiri was also a Royal Headman.
- (iii) At Putapye, Headman Keditshane Nwaka was deposed and Gaselina Sekgoma was appointed.
- (iv) At Sefhare, Chief's Representative and Headman Ramosamo Kebonang was deposed and a follower of Tshekedi was appointed.
- (v) At Mookane, Chief's Representative and Headman Ketumetse was deposed and Bakwena Mosama was appointed.
- (vi) At Lethakane, Headman Lethakane was deposed and Ketumetse was appointed.
- (vii) At Tlofela, Sub-Chief Radiphase was deposed and Gaselina Sekgoma was appointed. Radiphase was also a Subordinate Native Authority.
- (viii) At Gweta, Chief's Representative and Headman Ntuma was deposed and Lethakane was appointed.
- (ix) At Bokakane, Gopofane was deposed and Lethakane was appointed.
- (x) At Madibane Headman Motlatsi was deposed and Oeng Mphahle was appointed.
- (xi) At Moya, Headman Tsholofelo Gwengwe was deposed and Lethakane was appointed.
- (xii) At Bakopu, Sub-Chief Mokoma Kapa, a member of the Bakopu people and representative of all Headmen of the Bakopu people was deposed from Bakopu and Potoeng was appointed.

All of those persons removed from their posts held their positions of Headmen or Sub-Chief on a hereditary basis.

In response to a question in the House of Commons by Fenner Brockway, MP, on November 3, 1955, Douglas Dods-Parker for the Commonwealth Relations Office on November 9, 1955, wrote to Mr. Brockway giving the official reply to these cases.

In cases (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv), above, Mr. Dods-Parker cited his predecessors' statement: "These persons are not and never were hereditary Headmen in the areas mentioned. They were, however, Chief's Representatives in those areas until their dismissal on May 30, 1952, after they sought deliberately... to make impossible the communication of the Government's views to the tribe assembled in Kgofa."

In case (v), above, he said Ketumetse was not a Headman, but had been Subordinate Native Authority and "surrendered it to a

★ ON PAGE EIGHT

†Based upon a document "Grievances of the members of the Bamangwato Tribe who are supporters of Seretse" prepared by their attorneys in South Africa, Herman Weiser-zug and Fetschek, Johannesburg, dated August, 1955; a letter from M. N. Kopa, of Serowe, B.P. to Lord Rathereedan, March, 1956; and a letter from Manyaphiri I. Sekgoma to Lord Rathereedan dated March 24, 1956.



Seretse Khama is seen with his uncle, Peto Sekgoma, in discussions following the British Government's decision to exile Seretse.

Toward non-violent revolution in India

By RALPH BLACKWOOD

THERE are thousands of revolutionaries in India today working for a co-operative society based on love, truth and non-violence.

These non-violent revolutionaries reject the method of gradual legal reform. Yet, they also reject the way of violence. They believe they have found new ways to rebuild society without violence.

One of their new revolutionary methods is satyagraha (mass non-violent direct action), the method used by Gandhi in his freedom struggle, and beginning to be applied in America to win justice for Negroes.

A second method is revolutionary constructive work, another of Gandhi's tools being used throughout India today.

In India the non-violent revolutionary movement is often called the Sarvodaya Movement. Sarvodaya is a Gujarati word, used by Gandhi as a title to his translation of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. It can be translated, "the welfare of all," or "the uplift of all."

People in India speak of the Sarvodaya philosophy, the Sarvodaya movement and Sarvodaya workers. In each case the word Sarvodaya can be translated, "non-violent revolutionary" although it also has many other connotations in India.

SARVODAYA

The term Sarvodaya Society is used to refer to the non-violent, co-operative society which the Sarvodaya movement aims to establish.

The Sarvodaya ideology (the ideology of the non-violent revolution) is the philosophy of Gandhi with interpretations, extrapolations, and perhaps a few revisions.

Therefore, I shall here use the terms, "Non-violent Revolutionary," "Sarvodaya," and "Gandhian" interchangeably.

Behind the tools or methods of non-violent revolution an ideology is growing. This emerging ideology of non-violent revolution attempts to clear up the basic assumptions of the revolutionary worker, to make them consistent with his methods and with reality.

Also the new ideology helps the revolutionary worker interpret new events in dynamic situations so he can keep moving toward his goal even when everything around him is in flux.

The Sarvodaya ideology is still growing. It is far from a systematic theory of social change or a complete plan for social revolution.

It has something to say about nearly every aspect of social revolution; basic values, philosophical questions, methods of handling social conflicts, and even agricultural practices and the tools labourers use; yet the Sarvodaya ideology is still undefined and unsystematic.

Not all leaders agree on important points and there is often a big gap between theory and practice. However, it seems that the theories and methods of non-violent revolution are evolving towards a systematic ideology.

IDEOLOGY

The following is an outline of the emerging ideology as I pieced it together from what I heard and read.

1. Most of the Sarvodaya theorists assume that reality is basically "spiritual" in nature and they reject materialism. A few aim at a "higher synthesis" which would include both the "spiritual" and "material."

2. Sarvodaya thinkers agree with the Marxists' dialectical assumption that reality is one unitary, everchanging flux, but they reject the Marxist idea that conflict is the basis of change. Instead, they believe that reality is growing and unfolding, not conflict, is the basis of change.

3. So, ends grow out of means and the means we use must be harmonious with the ends we want. Good ends do not justify bad means. Bad means cannot unfold into good ends.

4. The non-violent revolutionary workers try to "change people's hearts," not merely to change society. They want to change the basic values and habits of individuals and, at the same time, they want to change the social structure.

5. The Sarvodaya workers accept truth, non-violence, love and co-operation; not as vague ideals nor as distant goals to be attained after the revolution in some future stateless society; but as the most practical, most efficient means of changing society.

6. When the customary persuasive methods of changing fail, the old-style revolutionary uses violence; the old-style pacifist withdraws or submits; but the Sarvodaya revolutionary uses Satyagraha—non-violent direct action.

7. The Sarvodaya workers are deeply concerned about the underfed and overworked. They believe the "underdog" should have the most and the greatest attention.

8. The Sarvodaya ideal is a simple but healthy life rather than a high standard of living for all. Sarvodaya thinkers claim that man cannot reach a high level of culture if he puts too much emphasis on comforts and pleasures.

He must have the things he needs for physical and mental health but beyond this, man cannot find the "good life" by searching for direct sensual satisfactions. Besides, at present the world cannot produce enough to give everyone a very high standard of living.

9. The Sarvodaya society, most thinkers believe, will be a decentralised, co-operative society. Today our knowledge and our ability to control large social groups is very limited. But we do know how to prevent exploitation and solve conflicts in small groups.

So, a rather high degree of decentralisation in government and economy is essential to a just and peaceful society in which man can realise his full potentialities.

10. Revolutionary constructive work is the foundation on which Satyagraha is built. Gandhians distinguish revolutionary constructive work from ordinary social work or reform.

Revolutionary constructive work is constructive action which not only relieves suffering but also tends to build the new Sarvodaya society alongside the old social system.

But ordinary social work and reform tends to prop up the old social system or, at best, it alleviates suffering without correcting the causes.

FREEDOM

11. Gandhians believe strongly in individual freedom. They reject the Russian type totalitarian state and at the same time they reject the type of "free" society in which some men are free to corner great wealth and live in luxury while others are only free to choose the way in which they live lives of hard labour and poverty.

Freedom is possible, the Gandhians claim, if we make a twofold attack:

a. To "change the heart" of individuals so that they will strive to act in altruistic, socially conscious ways; and

b. To change the social structure so that the new values, mores and expectations will tend to direct individuals towards creative and constructive behaviour.

12. The Sarvodaya workers believe that science and technology are essential in Sarvodaya society. However, they believe that the "West" has strong tendencies to make the man the slave to science or perhaps to let some men use science as a tool and enslave others.

India's non-violent revolutionary workers think science should be controlled and made to serve man's human or "spiritual" needs.

Wages in Kenya

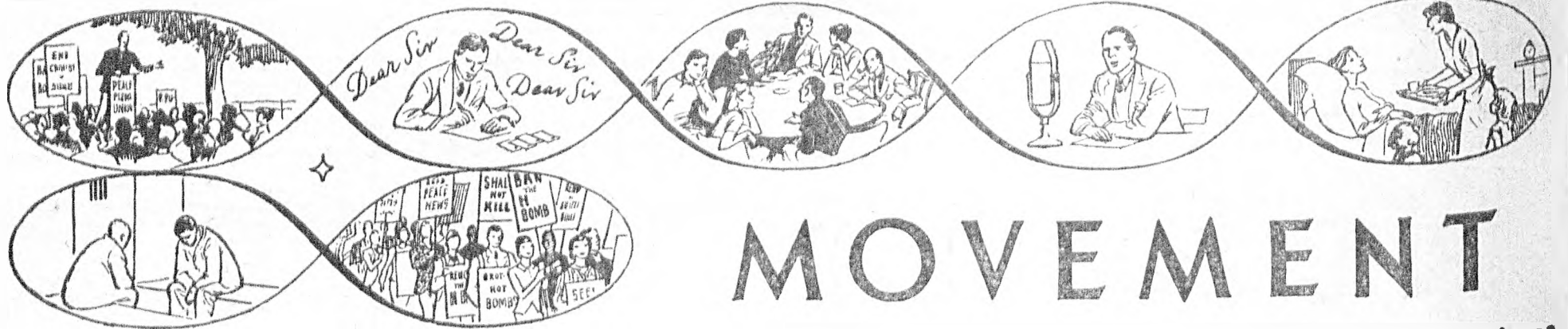
Nairobi County Council is to be urged by the Nairobi Western Rural District Council to cut the pay of African Labourers employed on housing schemes in the Ruiru area to rates comparable with those paid by farmers in the district.

This was decided at a meeting of the Rural Council yesterday after it had been reported that the farmers were faced continually with a shortage of labour because of the higher rates paid by the Council—two shillings a day plus basic ration and housing.

The Rural Council decided to recommend that the County Council should employ labour at the same rates as those offered by local farmers or that when recruiting labour in such districts as Ruiru the Council should not employ labour which had been employed on farms in the district.

The Rural Council decided to recommend also that if any further building projects were undertaken by the Council in Ruiru Township the County Engineer be instructed to contact the District Officer Ruiru, who might be able to direct the necessary labour to Council.

—East African Standard, December 12, 1955.



MOVEMENT

A Peace News survey of organisations and
Concern of young scientists

JOINED THE ARMY—BECAME A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

FROM time to time Peace News hears from conscripts serving in the armed forces who are feeling their way to the pacifist viewpoint. It is then that we learn something of the mental struggle these youths endure.

Recently we received a letter from a soldier who refused to undergo "Advanced Infantry Training."

"I am a National Serviceman of seven months standing and since coming into the army have come to certain beliefs on the question of pacifism," he writes.

"I had expected, at the end of the training, to get into a section where the question of bearing arms and doing combatant work would not arise. However, this transfer did not come through, and I was informed that I was to be put on to Advanced Infantry Training at once.

"This I refused to do for what I described as 'religious and pacifist reasons.' The matter was passed on to the Adjutant.

"There was a good deal of hanging around, and my father was told that arrangements were being made to register me as a conscientious objector. In the meanwhile it was guaranteed that I would not be made to do anything which would offend my pacifism.

"The whole business caused a remarkable stir in the battalion, and every officer seemed keen to pass the matter on to somebody else. "In the end my registration as a CO did not take place.

Not an Absolutist

"This was due to the Army Chaplain, who, after a long talk with me, decided that I was by no means a complete objector, and that all I wanted was non-combatant duties. This was quite true.

"As a result, I was put on to medical work in the battalion.

"I have not touched a rifle since December. I have three times been on parade without one, and was the only one of 120 men not bearing one on the trip to Germany. I have every reason to believe that this situation will continue until I am discharged next year.

Strangely enough I do not regret having entered the army, for my argument as a pacifist is now based on firm first-hand experience and I believe my case to be strengthened as a result.

"It has made me think of the peace problem in a real and vital way, and I become daily more concerned and involved in it—this would never have been true had I remained a civilian."

Below, we publish a statement of this soldier-reader's views. We have withheld his name:

Like many other young men of our generation who see the fact of National Service casting a dark shadow on the horizon, I had thought vaguely in terms of pacifism and even conscientious objection. At school some of my lunch-table companions had often listened meekly as I enlarged on the subject while the others, the more military type, had simply laughed. They were indeed right to laugh—I see that now. For what I was talking in those days was empty superficial rubbish, based on second or third-hand information and springing from no religious or moral convictions whatsoever.

In any case, I joined the army, although whether it was due to sheer lack of conviction or whether it was due to an uncomfortable feeling at the back of my mind that in not doing so I would simply be "dodging" I do not know. I went in, as do so many others, blissfully ignorant, comparatively innocent, almost in fact, looking forward to it. Which of us does not like to get away from home at times?

And, once in, I received a rude shock. I found, to my intense surprise, that a great deal of what I had spoken in the old days was true. Probably I had never even believed it myself but now I would have to, because this was no dream. This was reality at last—and I didn't like it. But that, of course, was no reason for registering as a Conscientious Objector; after all, nobody (apart from a few maniacs) positively enjoys infantry training.

Beginnings of Conscience

But now a new element came in and the situation in my own mind began to change. I do not know what to call this new thing—some would say "imagination" no doubt. The psychologist would have his own name for it, perhaps. As a Christian, I would call it the spirit of God. That was when conscience rebelled, that was when the truth began to set me free and for the first time I knew beyond a shadow of doubt that much of what I was doing and being taught to do was wrong, morally, socially, spiritually.

I was learning how to carry and fire a rifle, how to use a bayonet, how to throw a grenade, how, in fact, to destroy human life. I was doing and learning these things and at one

and the same time I was professing allegiance to One who said things like this:—

"But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy cheek, turn unto him the other also."

"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you..."

Right and wrong

A terrible conflict raged in my own mind, a conflict between what I knew to be right (that is, the Truth) and what I knew to be wrong (that is, my participation in the killing process).

This struggle I endured for ten weeks, comforted by the cowardly thought that when the training was over I should probably obtain a fairly soft job where the question of bearing arms would not arise. For the good of my soul, this was not to be. The army seemed determined to keep me in a strictly combatant capacity and so I was obliged to make a stand and make my attitude known. Only when I had done this, only when I had received an assurance that I should not be called upon to bear or use arms again, did the storm lull and my mind and conscience became clear once more.

I know there will be those of my pacifist friends who will say that I compromised, that I ought to have registered as a CO in every sense of the word. But I have no specific objection as a Christian to wearing uniform, for instance, or to being regimented, unpleasant though both of these things are from the human point of view. I have always regarded the true Conscientious Objector as being one who objected to the army as a whole, lock, stock, and barrel, and this I could not reasonably do.

See "In Perspective" — page 2

Around and about England and Wales

A FOUR-PRONGED pacifist demonstration campaign is being launched this year by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

It begins on June 16 with a demonstration at Oxford. On June 23, the centre of activities will be Aylesbury. Trafalgar Square rally on June 30 will be addressed by Emrys Hughes MP, Victor Yates MP, John Loversseed, Pacifist candidate for South Lewisham, Rev. Francis Noble, Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris. The demonstration on July 7 will be at Salisbury.

Volunteers for poster parades and leaflet distribution should contact Sybil Morrison, Peace Pledge Union Headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

ALL Leeds Branch libraries are supplied with a copy of PEACE NEWS at the expense of the LEEDS PEACE PLEDGE UNION COMMITTEE, but TOM LANG, Secretary of the Committee hopes to encourage non-active members in his area to take on the costs as part of their efforts for peace.

He procured from DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE (Headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union), an official list of members, and the Committee are personally visiting all people on the list whom they don't often see. They are asking them to make a regular subscription to the local PPU funds, and to take Peace News if they do not already subscribe. If anyone says, "I'm sorry, but I don't have time to read Peace News," they are asking him to pay for a library copy.

Leeds, where the 1957 Annual General Meeting of the PPU will be held, is an active PPU centre. Recently, at a Bring-and-Buy sale, £5 was collected for the funds. A monthly Newsletter is sent out to 150 members.

SHOWING a keen interest in current affairs are the many branches of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

A popular activity of the London members is the regular lunch-meeting held on the fourth Wednesday each month at Friends International Centre, Tavistock Square. Eric Baker, of the National Peace Council spoke in April on "Peace in the Twentieth Century—the Widening Challenge." He stressed the need for a new foreign policy for Britain to meet the growing awareness of the world that ideas are more powerful than bombs, but to be successful it must be based on complete honesty, self-restraint and a willingness to suffer in order that others might learn.

Every week, the Parliamentary Committee of the WILPF meets to discuss current affairs.

From a report presented to the Liverpool Peace Pledge Union Group

TWO eminent scientists, Professor Levy and Professor Polanyi, together with two younger scientists Burkhardt and Lord, took part in a conference, convened by the Institute of Physics recently at Manchester University, on Ethical Problems confronting the Young Scientists in the Atomic Age.

Professor Polanyi, Hungarian-born, resigned from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute für Physikische Chemie in 1933 in protest against anti-Jewish legislation. Among his various publications is "Atomic Reactions," 1932.

Professor Levy was Chairman of the Science Advisory Committee of the Labour Party from 1924 to 1930. He has written numerous articles on science and scientific philosophy in weekly and monthly periodicals.

During the discussion, it was very clearly shown to the gathering of about 200 people that there is a large and growing concern among many scientists in regard to the social implications of their work, considered from a moral and ethical viewpoint.

Responsibility

The young scientists said that their problems concerned the attitude of the scientists to:

1. working on conventional weapons;
2. working on atomic weapons;
3. government security restriction on interchange of information;
4. the control of scientific work by non-scientists;
5. the direction of scientific research into ways most beneficial to the community;
6. responsibility for informing the community of the consequences likely from their work; and
7. teaching the young with intent to mould their outlook.

It was considered that the individual had to judge these matters on an ethical rather than an expedient plane. A scientist disagreeing with present government policy would be a conscientious objector. Those differentiating

Giving details of important issues published in Hansard, the official report of Parliamentary proceedings, is Mrs. Mary Fernau. Other members specialise in race relations, colonial matters and the status of women.

MEMBERS of the NOTTINGHAM BRANCH of the WILPF have written to their MP expressing concern at the segregation of coloured students at the University of Rhodesia.

Four members of the group recently attended a conference organised by the COMMITTEE FOR THE WELFARE OF COLOURED WORKERS on "The Position of Coloured People in the Community of Nottingham."

FIVE hundred new members to Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, have swollen the party's total membership to 12,500. The increase is since January 1.

NEARING the completion of their first hundredweight of milk bottle tops (proceeds to Peace News funds), is HASTINGS GROUP of the PEACE PLEDGE UNION, under its very active and enthusiastic secretary, FRANCES MORGAN.

SYBIL MORRISON, Organising Secretary of the PPU, will be guest speaker at a garden party held by the group in July.

HAMPSTEAD Peace Pledge Union Group has no secretary at present, and Dorothy Matthews and Florence Surliff are acting jointly until someone is ready to take over the job. George Plume was previously the Group Secretary.

Recently the Group were addressed by Christopher Farley and Ian Dixon both of the Pacifist Youth Action Group.

In March, Albert Bentin, himself of Italian descent, gave a talk on "The Foreigner in England." The last meeting of the Group was addressed by Margaret Nicholson, who formerly ran the Dick Sheppard Club in Binney Street. She spoke of her work with coloured people in a Citizens' Advice Bureau.

LADY PAMELA MOUNTBATTEN, recently Patron of the CARAVAN OF INDIA, has become the Patron of the CARAVAN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

INTENDING to set out on a door-to-door canvassing campaign for increasing the sale of Peace News is the Bermondsey Peace Pledge Union Group. Their present schedule includes regular monthly meetings and the distribution of pacifist leaflets.

between nuclear and other weapons would have to prove their case.

If scientists made it their duty to make their fellow citizens aware of the consequences and dangers of their work, might this not lead to strike action and unemployment distress?

Action at the individual level, claimed Professor Levy, was unimportant compared with policy moulding by political action. Nuclear, mass destruction weapons were intrinsically different and were to be opposed in any event. The supreme scientific value is truth, but the other values involved in community policy had to be clarified, e.g. by considering the start, had to be clarified, e.g. by considering the start, example of dropping bombs for defence alone.

Professor Polanyi, commenting that the more acute problems mentioned had already arisen among the American atomic scientists, gave an historical review of the controversies which raged over atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Pure science, he claimed, could not be directed with an eye to the consequences.

Sir Eric James, Headmaster of the Manchester Grammar School and Chairman of the Conference, said in his summing up that scientists have the special responsibility of defending truth, the value of science, and also they must seek the purpose of their work.

CONGREGATIONAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

From CONSTANCE WILLIS

THE Congregational Pacifist Fellowship, according to their custom, had a breakfast at King's Weigh House Congregational Church on May 15, at 8 a.m., followed by their Annual Meeting. The Rev. Harold Johnson (Secretary) referred to the report of the Congregational and Presbyterian Commission on "The Christian and the Use of Force," and stressed the importance of the discussion being continued on a regional basis.

Mr. Johnson referred also to a Resolution which had been passed at last year's Assembly which was completely contradictory and a complete denial of Congregationalism. Declaring that a certain thing (the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb) was contrary to the mission of Christ, the Assembly proceeded with caution to justify it. The Resolution was so framed as to offend as few people as possible. The little bit about "the mind of Christ" was put in so that the pacifists should not be offended, and the rest of it was put in so that the non-pacifists should not be offended. A belligerent non-pacifist had remarked: "Well, I would not send any young person to this Assembly for guidance."

The Secretary continued: "We must go on disagreeing—that is inevitable—but let us at least take to heart the message of 'The Christian and the Use of Force' issued a few years ago, and resolve not by compromising but by thinking and praying together to find what is the mind of our Churches, so that never again we shall say that something is against the mind of Christ and yet may be justified."

Cyprus

At the Assembly itself, when a motion on Cyprus came up, an amendment declaring British rule and the presence of British forces to be the cause of the terrorism and urging complete British withdrawal from Cyprus was moved by the Rev. Wendell Bentall, B.A., Sheffield (former Chairman of the Yorkshire Union), and seconded by Dr. A. D. Bellamy. This amendment was defeated.

The Congregational Pacifist Fellowship organised an open meeting, held at Livingstone House, at 5 p.m., at which the speaker, the Rev. Philip Eastman (Secretary, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs) spoke on "The Perspectives of Peace."

Trade unionists oppose H-bomb tests

NOT a word of opposition, not a suggestion of modification, but some congratulations greeted a resolution proposed by Donald Ward at the Annual General Meeting of the Union of Section Amalgamated branch of the Union of Post Office Workers.

The resolution called for a reduction in armaments, the discontinuance of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and of H-bomb tests. It also called upon citizens to strengthen the question of war being a justifiable act in the maintenance of national independence.

Donald Ward commenting on the whole-hearted acceptance of the resolution, said: "One man gave me an immediate order for Peace News, and it was obvious in the few minutes I had to present this motion that I was deeply affected. My case was greatly strengthened by the unparalleled quality of the information I was able to get from Peace News."

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MANCHESTER: 1. Christian 2. Union of Friends 3. PPU

LEYTONSTON: 1. Union of Friends 2. PPU

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EILEEN FLETCHER REPLIES TO CRITICS

"The instances I quoted were not the basis of my judgment but were given as illustrations of the general points I was trying to make."

"The attempt is being made, I believe, to argue that some of the instances I have given date from an earlier period in the emergency and are now out of date."

"To that I would answer, first, that where I have quoted (and given dates for) instances from an earlier period I have done so because to my knowledge similar things were going on up to the time that I left Kenya—for instance, the leaving of babies and young children in villages during sweeps."

"Second, my case is based on my personal experience as a rehabilitation officer up to November, 1955, and for some months subsequent to that when I was still in Kenya; third, I have used reports from the Red Cross of as late as August last year; and, fourth, my allegations that young girls were being sent

to prison include the evidence of two cases which happened early this year."

"My statements that children were being sentenced to hard labour and were serving these sentences are based on official reports of actual sentences, and on my own experience of the carrying-out of those sentences. I have myself seen children being put to hard physical labour beyond their strength."

"I challenge the statement put out by the Kenya Administration that juveniles were placed in a separate compound."

"On many occasions I went to the Administration to urge that abuses should be put right, and on several occasions they did so."

CREDIT GIVEN

"What Mr. Morrison and John Starke have said as to the employment of numbers of Europeans who in some cases did not prove to have the right qualities is exactly what I have said in my articles."

"The two instances quoted in an attempt to justify their charge of 'striking inconsistencies' are taken from my reports of two separate camps. The inconsistency is theirs, not mine."

"It is not true that I have given a 'totally unfair picture,' or that I have ignored 'the excellent work done by so many.' Either in my articles or in my statements at the meetings at the House of Commons I have stressed that excellent work was being done, for instance by the Church Army, the Salvation Army, the Save the Children Fund and the Red Cross. I have also recorded that I received great help from two first-class prison officers who reported things to me that I could not have known of otherwise, and that I met five admirable rehabilitation officers."

"As for the Kenya administration generally, I have nothing but praise for its Agricultural Department, and the same applies to the Health Department in the work that it does, although that work is far too limited in view of the enormous needs."

NO JUSTICE FOR KIKUYU

"But I cannot assent to the way in which the Kenya Government is behaving in dealing with the Mau Mau emergency, and I have aimed to show that there is no justice in Kenya for the Kikuyu."

"I have the authority of Dr. Gregory, of the Save the Children Fund, in saying that 870,000 children are without education today; and an official report has stated that in Nairobi alone 6,000 children have no schooling. The independent schools associated with Jomo Kenyatta were closed and nothing put in their place."

"I dissent from the criticism of Eric Cleave, in his letter to The Times, alleging unbalance. My concern was to get injustices put right, and I was obliged to concentrate on that. I knew that many others were reporting the things that could be approved of, and the British public was being told all the time about them."

"But I was in a position to see the other side which those others had not the opportunity of seeing, and I had to address myself to making that information known. In order, not to unbalance, but to balance, the general picture."

"I could, for instance, have confined my account to such heart-warming incidents as that which happened to me at Kamiti prison, where I was surrounded by African toddlers, who were so glad to see me that they clung to me and had to be pulled away before I could leave."

"I have written for the War Resisters' International and in the inter-racial magazine Concord (of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia), articles describing the very encouraging results of some work I did with the rehabilitation of hardcore Mau Mau women."

"But if I had concentrated on such experience, and had suppressed or modified the other, I should, I feel, have been a traitor to truth itself, and indeed would have given that very 'unbalance' to my account of which I am now accused."

PUBLIC OPINION ROUSED

May 4

PEACE NEWS publishes first of three articles on Kenya by Eileen Fletcher. Readers send them to MPs.

May 10

MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM arranges first meeting with MPs for Eileen Fletcher.

May 25

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, on the front page, reports tabling of questions in Commons by Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, following "allegations and bitter criticisms of the Government in PEACE NEWS." TRIBUNE also publishes facts about child prisoners.

May 29

Eileen Fletcher adds to her charges and reads extracts from PEACE NEWS articles to MPs and journalists in the course of a Press conference in the House. Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom calls for Government inquiry.

May 30

Press conference widely reported in national newspapers. James Johnson, MP, asks Colonial Secretary in Commons if he is "aware of the serious allegations made by Miss Fletcher."

Mr. Lennox Boyd infers that he telegraphed to Kenya asking for comments only after seeing the shipping references in TRIBUNE. I recognise that when charges are made it is up to me to answer them (he stated), but I would ask the House not to rush to any hasty conclusions till they have heard detailed answers on detailed charges.

Mr. Anthony Bevan said that the statements appeared some time ago. Surely his department had been rather remiss. Were his officers not responsible for this delay?

Mr. John Dugdale, former Minister of State at the Colonial Office in the Labour Government, reminds the House that these reports first appeared in PEACE NEWS.

May 31

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN publishes editorial "Girls in Prison." Points out the lameness of the Minister's reply, "for the first and main article appeared in PEACE NEWS on May 4."

June 1

THE TIMES publishes letter from Chairman of the Kenya Committee of the Friends Service Council (Quakers) which concludes with the hope that the Colonial Secretary's investigation "will be full and searching."

June 3

Tom Driberg comments in REYNOLDS NEWS that Miss Fletcher's report has shocked Parliament and the nation.

June 4

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN reports that "the conditions and treatment in prison camps revealed by Miss Fletcher will form the basis of the Labour case on the administration of justice as a whole in the Colony," in the Commons debate on June 6.

MICHAEL SCOTT'S POLICY FOR AFRICA

FROM PAGE ONE

the overall requirements from Britain and elsewhere during the next five or ten-year period and for the purpose of considering priorities in the allocation of available assistance...

"(b) Consideration at such a conference should also be given to a revision of the policy of the United Kingdom towards the United Nations, especially that part of it which relates to the processes of international law and international accountability, technical and financial aid through the World Bank and Technical Assistance Bureau, and towards the Point Four Programme of the U.S. Regretting the fact that Britain has in the past regarded international accountability as 'interference'—an attitude which has resulted in her becoming identified with the most reactionary forces of colonialism, the statement continues:

"The UN has now an overwhelming majority of small erstwhile dependent countries for whose leadership there will be increasing competition between East, West and Bandung. They will be amenable to a positive lead in tackling world problems of poverty, malnutrition, and under-development whether economically or politically."

"Britain need have no self-consciousness about her role as mid-wife of liberty in human history. She should welcome the searchlight of responsible world opinion on her own constitutional experiments and on the various ways in which the stresses and strains experienced in the newly emerging democracies are being met and overcome..."

"She should press for procedures to implement the Covenant of Human Rights which would offer some protection to those dispossessed

or discriminated against in sovereign states, similar to the rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of Trust territories."

INTERNATIONAL AID

"A more business-like arrangement should be made with the US in the working out of its Point Four programme and more use should be made by Britain herself in her dependent territories of these advantages; and also of such international agencies as UNESCO, the World Bank and other specialised agencies of the UN. Her own contributions to these agencies should be increased."

"It should be a cardinal principle of Britain's policy to enhance the role and prestige of the International Court of Justice, both in its judicial and advisory capacities and in its function of arbitration which should be more fully developed."

"An honourable way out of one of our own present dilemmas would be to submit to its advisory opinion or arbitration on the question of the Haud area of Somaliland even if this involves an admission of error on our part in the past."

SOUTH AFRICA

Referring to the publicly expressed suggestion of Mr. Strydom for a joint administration of the Protectorates by Great Britain and South Africa, Michael Scott comments:

"Rather than reiterate a purely negative reply, a policy should be worked out which would enable Britain to exercise the maximum influence on South Africa to change her policies toward the African people, the United Nations, and the Commonwealth, and Britain should use the maximum skill in carrying out this policy."

"Regional development authorities could also be established in the Protectorates to co-

TRAGIC ILLUSION

Mr. Augustine Courtauld suggests that leadership from Britain could best take the form of disarmament. . . . After the terrible lessons of the past 20 years is it not alarming that this touching faith in a discredited illusion should still exist in a British mind. . . . Britain did set an example by disarming, and what was the net result? By 1940 our young men were asked to face an overwhelming foe, unprotected, and without the means of fighting back. . . . When will the British people learn. . . . that the only hope of preventing war is to be armed against it.

—Letter in the Daily Telegraph, June 1st, 1956.

It is perhaps not surprising, though to be deplored, that a letter from me in answer to the above, stating the plain facts of the expenditure on armaments from 1930 to 1939, which shows that those who suffer from illusions are the determinedly blind adherents to the fallacy that Britain unilaterally disarmed in the 1930's, has not been accepted by the Editor of the Daily Telegraph.

The whole history of the attempts at an agreed disarmament programme from 1920 when the League of Nations first set up a

permanent advisory committee on disarmament, until 1933 when, with the withdrawal of Germany, the full-scale conference finally broke down, is one of tragic significance.

The main obstacle to agreement was, and still is at such conferences, that experts looking at the question of disarmament do so from the point of view of the military needs of their own countries, thereby pressing for the reduction of such weapons as are particularly dangerous to their own nationals, and refusing to give up any of those thought to be important to their own security.

Thus it was that Britain, far from giving a lead, was among those nations who refused to accept a proposal that all members of the League should abolish the bombing aeroplane.

In any case the facts are that following upon the collapse of the Disarmament Conference in 1933 Britain's expenditure on armaments rose from £107,000,000 to £407,000,000 in 1939. After the Munich agreement in 1938, there was an increase in expenditure of £124,000,000 in one year alone.

None of this can be reconciled with the notion so fondly held by so many, that Britain gave a lead by reducing her armaments in the 1930's. The facts do not bear this out.

Today, "disarmament" is no longer the word it used to be; a word which denoted earnest and sincere desire of Governments to limit their arms by agreement. It has become like "peace," a word to be bandied about for political and national aggrandisement.

It is obvious that Governments, who are constantly assuring their peoples that war has been averted, not by disarmament, but, on the contrary, by building up nuclear weapon stockpiles, do not, in fact, desire disarmament. They have made it plain, that whatever else is done, there will be no reduction of the stockpile, or cessation of manufacture and experiments.

★

Though it is argued by some that Russia has given a lead in disarmament through demobilising 600,000 and promising a further reduction of 1,200,000 by this time next year, and by others that Britain, by its decision not to call up Grade 3 under 18s National Service, has been before Russia with this lead, it is obvious that these so-called leaders have nothing to do with real disarmament.

It seems to have been forgotten that Khrushchev, while in this country, made a threatening speech, asserting that Russia's strength in nuclear weapons was overwhelmingly greater than that of the Western Powers, and no one seems to remember that far greater sums of money are to be spent by Britain on their new nuclear test, and subsequent production of nuclear devices, than are saved by demobilising redundant manpower.

This is the age of automation, the century of the press-button and the robot. To disband some millions of men and put them into factories to make weapons of total destruction is not disarmament.

It is, moreover, a contradiction in terms to say that "the only hope of preventing war is to be armed against it." It is possible to arm against an enemy, but not against war itself. It is this naive and tragic illusion that armaments can prevent war that gives impetus to an armaments race, and ends, not in preventing it, but precipitating it.

The case for armaments as a deterrent has not been proved; the present precarious balancing on the edge of the abyss can scarcely be called security. Wars will be prevented only when mankind decides to abolish the method of war.

A. J. MUSTE

FROM PAGE TWO

about and are bored by it. The one hope is in a movement which has a sounder programme to offer, cleaner practices and a more genuinely democratic organisation than the Communists.

Lastly, I was struck by the fact that the one thing Norman Thomas and Eugene Dennis, who had clashed at nearly every point, agreed on was rejection of unilateral disarmament after I had proposed that, if necessary, the US should unilaterally pull out of war preparation and the war system!

Now for one thing this seems to me to indicate a failure to attach adequate importance to the monstrous moral evil of nuclear war and according political and prudential considerations priority over moral ones. For another thing, both are left accepting a system of armed national states and placing their reliance on these huge Power States somehow coming to an agreement leading to their own dissolution, for obviously there will be no such power states in an armed and war-less world.

I would say also that both Dennis and Thomas at this point are the victims and exponents of the failure of the Socialist and Communist movement alike to give sufficient weight to the evil of the war-system and the way have departed from the idealism of the strongly anti-militarist early Socialist and Labour movement.

Both need to give more serious thought to the possible contribution of pacifism, certainly of Gandhian non-violence, to the revolution which needs to be achieved. The struggle for peace is necessarily the struggle for the revolution both in the East and in the West.

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